

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 184257
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011

DRAFTED BY IO/UNA:BJSHARP

APPROVED BY IO/UNA:JFTEFF

S/S-O:KDSCOTT

-----131055 210209Z /73

O 202303Z JUL 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 184257

EXDIS, FOR AMB. YOUNG FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT LONDON 11488 SENT ACTION SECSTATE
AND USUN NEW YORK JUL 20.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 11488

EXDIS

USUN FOR MCHENRY ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, GW, WA, XA

SUBJECT: BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA: NAMIBIA

DEPARTMENT REPEAT TO OTHER POSTS AS APPROPRIATE

1. ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE'S CONSULTATIONS IN BONN
(JULY 17) COVERED THE GAMUT OF AFRICAN TOPICS. NAMIBIA,
HOWEVER, WAS A PRIMARY FOCUS OF THE TALKS. (OTHER
SUBJECTS REPORTED SEPTELS.) THE FOLLOWING IS BASED ON
THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S CONVERSATIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 184257

TATIVES FROM THE FOREIGN OFFICE'S AFRICA AND PLANNING
SECTIONS, HEADED BY DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR
AFRICAN AFFAIRS MUELLER.

2. MUELLER INITIATED THE SUBSTANTIVE PORTION OF THE
TALKS ON NAMIBIA BY REVIEWING FOR MOOSE THE RESULTS OF
THE FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS' DISCUSSIONS ON NAMIBIA OF

THE PREVIOUS EVENING (JULY 16). ACCORDING TO MUELLER, THE MINISTERS HAD AGREED THAT THE FIVE'S NAMIBIA PROPOSAL SHOULD BE INTRODUCED BY THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME. THE MINISTERS ALSO AGREED, HE SAID, THAT THEIR PRESENCE IN NEW YORK AT THE TIME OF THE TABLING WOULD LEND ADDED WEIGHT TO THE WESTERN PRESENTATION. AFTER EXAMINING THEIR RESPECTIVE SCHEDULES, THE MINISTERS PROPOSED THAT FRIDAY, JULY 28 WAS AN OPPORTUNE TIME TO MEET, ALLOWING FOUR DAYS FOR COMPLETION OF THE UNSC PROCESS UNDER THE CANADIAN PRESIDENCY. THE MINISTERS ALSO AGREED THAT BOTHA SHOULD BE INFORMED ABOUT THE WESTERN PLANS AND THAT THE OPTION SHOULD BE OPENED TO HIM TO TRAVEL TO NEW YORK HIMSELF TO PRESENT THE SOUTH AFRICAN CASE. IN ADDITION, IF THE FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS WERE PRESENT, THE FRONT LINE STATES AND NIGERIA SHOULD BE REPRESENTED AS WELL, POSSIBLY ON THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL.

3. MUELLER, HOWEVER, WAS SOMEWHAT CONCERNED ABOUT HOW THE PRESENCE OF THE FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN NEW YORK MIGHT AFFECT THE PROSPECTS FOR THE PROPOSAL'S PASSAGE. THERE WAS A DANGER, HE FEARED, THAT MINISTERIAL PRESENCE MIGHT BE MISCONSTRUED. MUELLER ASKED MOOSE FOR HIS VIEWS ON THIS POINT. MOOSE REPLIED THAT, ALTHOUGH HE WOULD HAVE TO SPEAK WITH HIS COLLEAGUES IN WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 184257

AND NEW YORK BEFORE COMING TO A FIRM CONCLUSION, HIS INCLINATION WAS TO WAIT FOR AN INDICATION OF HOW THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES' PRESENTATION WAS GOING BEFORE ADVISING THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS BE INJECTED INTO THE FRAY. ON THE QUESTION OF BOTHA'S PRESENCE, MOOSE POINTED TO THE DANGER OF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN NUJOMA AND BOTHA. MUELLER OPINED THAT STATE SECRETARY VAN WELL WOULD PROBABLY AGREE, WHICH, IN FACT, HE DID IN A MEETING LATER THE SAME DAY. VAN WELL TOLD MOOSE THAT, IN HIS VIEW, PRESENCE OF THE MINISTERS OF THE WESTERN FIVE SHOULD BE TIED TO SIMILAR AFRICAN REPRESENTATION. VAN WELL SAID HE WOULD BE DISCUSSING THIS POINT WITH GENSCHER, AND THAT HE FELT RESTRAINT WAS IN ORDER. (FYI: MOOSE REVIEWED THIS QUESTION WITH SECRETARY VANCE IN LONDON JULY 19. SECRETARY DEFINITELY BELIEVES FOREIGN MINISTERS SHOULD BE PRESENT PROVIDED OAU SUMMIT, AS EXPECTED, ENDORSES CG PROPOSAL. SECRETARY SAID FOREIGN MINISTERS DID NOT DISCUSS INVITATION TO BOTHA AND THAT HE WOULD NOT FAVOR SUCH A MOVE.)

4. INITIATING AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN REACTION TO SWAPO'S ACCEPTANCE, MUELLER NOTED

THE IMPRESSION OF THE FIVE AMBASSADORS IN PRETORIA THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAD INITIALLY HAD AN INCORRECT PERCEPTION OF WHAT HAD ACTUALLY BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN LUANDA. PERHAPS, HE SAID, THE HARD SAG REACTION MAY HAVE BEEN BASED UPON A GLIMPSE AT COPY OF THE SWAPO DRAFT ON WALVIS BAY RATHER THAN ON THE FINAL DRAFT. IN MUELLER'S OPINION, THERE WAS SOME EVIDENCE OF A "LIMITED CHANGE" IN SAG ATTITUDES SINCE THEIR FIRST RESPONSE. IT SEEMED THAT THE WEST'S APPROACH TO BOTHA HAD HAD A REAL EFFECT. MOOSE AGREED THAT SOUTH AFRICA SEEMS TO HAVE MADE A DECISION TO LET THE PROCESS CONTINUE, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY.

5. ON THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY, MUELLER STATED HIS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 184257

VIEW THAT THE FIVE SHOULD BE IN NO RUSH TO TURN OVER A TEXT OF OUR SECURITY COUNCIL DRAFT RESOLUTION TO THE SAG. THE SOUTH AFRICANS NOW HAD AN ACCURATE IDEA OF WHAT THE FIVE HAVE IN MIND AND TO GIVE THEM A HARD COPY OF THE TEXT MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS AN INVITATION TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS. TO MUELLER, BOTHA'S PUBLIC TREATMENT OF WALVIS BAY HAS SOME SIGNIFICANCE. HIS EMPHASIS ON THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF THE ENCLAVE TO SOUTH AFRICA REMINDED MUELLER, HE SAID, OF A CONVERSATION HE ONCE HAD WITH FORMER SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVE IN BONN, AMBASSADOR SOLE. SOLE HAD TOLD HIM OF A LONG-STANDING SOUTH AFRICAN PLAN TO CONVERT WALVIS BAY INTO A FREE HARBOR AND THE CENTER OF A FAR-REACHING RAILWAY NETWORK. MUELLER NOTED THAT THE FIVE AMBASSADORS IN PRETORIA HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF SOME SORT OF NEUTRALIZATION OF WALVIS BAY AND THAT THERE SEEMED TO BE SOME ROOM FOR MANEUVER ON THIS POINT. MOOSE AGREED THIS MIGHT BE A POSSIBILITY. A GUARANTEE OF CONTINUED ACCESS, IN MOOSE'S VIEW, WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO ACCEPT THE LOSS OF DIRECT CONTROL OVER THE ENCLAVE. MUELLER RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF DISCUSSING OUR THINKING ON THIS POINT INFORMALLY WITH FOURIE IN AN EFFORT TO DISCOVER NEW WAYS OF DEALING WITH THE WALVIS BAY ISSUE AND MOOSE AGREED THAT THESE CONSIDERATIONS SHOULD BE THOROUGHLY DISCUSSED BY THE CONTACT GROUP.

6. CONCERNING INTERNAL NAMIBIAN DEVELOPMENTS AND GROUPINGS, MUELLER SHARED WITH MOOSE THE FRG'S THINKING, PARTICULARLY REGARDING THE NNF. A NNF DELEGATION HAD RECENTLY VISITED THE FRG AND WAS RECEIVED BY FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER. ALTHOUGH DISCUSSION WITH THEM COVERED A RANGE OF TOPICS (FOR EXAMPLE, THE NNF ADMITTED HAVING HAD CONTACTS WITH SHIPANGA AND ACKNOWLEDGED PLANS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 184257

FOR ANOTHER MEETING WITH HIM IN THE NEAR FUTURE, PROBABLY IN PARIS), THE NNF SEEMED PRIMARILY SEEKING THE FRG'S ADVICE ON HOW TO REACT TO AN EXPECTED SWAPO REJECTION OF THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. SHOULD THEY PARTICIPATE IN OR BOYCOTT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT? GENSCHER'S ADVICE WAS TO WAIT AND SEE. AFTERWARD, HOWEVER, THE NNF HAD INDICATED TO ITS FRIEDRICH NEUMANN FOUNDATION SPONSORS (FDP-FINANCED POLITICAL FOUNDATION) THAT IT PLANNED TO SEEK FRG SUPPORT ON ITS CLAIM TO BE HEARD BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL. MUELLER NOTED THAT THE FRG MUST TAKE THE NNF SERIOUSLY; IT HAS SIGNIFICANT PUBLIC SUPPORT IN THE FRG AND IT SEEMED TO BE THE ONLY GROUPING WHICH IS IN LINE WITH THE FIVE'S THINKING ON NAMIBIA, AS WELL AS WITH THAT OF THE FRONT LINE AND THE CHURCHES.

7. VAN WELL RETURNED TO THIS TOPIC IN HIS TALKS WITH MOOSE LATER IN THE DAY. VAN WELL SUGGESTED THAT SOME THOUGHT BE GIVEN TO OFFICIAL CONTACTS IN WINDHOEK DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. THE FRG'S POLITICAL CONTACTS, HE NOTED, WERE ALREADY SUBSTANTIALLY LAID THROUGH CONTACTS WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL FRG ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING THE CHURCHES. THE FRIEDRICH EBERT FOUNDATION (SPD-FINANCED) HAS GOOD CONTACTS WITH SWAPO, ESPECIALLY IN LUSAKA; THE FRIEDRICH NEUMANN FOUNDATION (FDP-FINANCED) HAS CONTACTS WITH THE NNF; AND THE CDU/CSU OPPOSITION (THROUGH THE KONRAD ADENAUER FOUNDATION) MAINTAINS RELATIONS WITH THE DTA. MUELLER CAUTIONED THAT CARE MUST BE TAKEN SO THESE CONTACTS DO NOT APPEAR TO BE NEGOTIATIONS AND ADDED THAT, IN HIS VIEW, ADDITIONAL THOUGHT MIGHT BE GIVEN TO THE BROAD OUTLINES OF PROSPECTIVE AID TO AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. VAN WELL AGREED, NOTING THAT THE FRG HAS SOME "RESERVE FUNDS" SET ASIDE FOR THIS PURPOSE. MOOSE SAID THAT NO AID FUNDS EARMARKED FOR NAMIBIA WERE CONTAINED IN CURRENT LEGISLATION BUT THAT THOUGHT WAS BEING GIVEN TO TYPE AND AMOUNT OF US

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 184257

AID WHICH WOULD BE MOST APPROPRIATE FOR NAMIBIA.

8. AFTER A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE CLOSE WESTERN COOPERATION ON THE NAMIBIA QUESTION, WHICH HE OBSERVED, HAD HAD AN IMPACT MUCH BEYOND THE CONFINES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, VAN WELL BROUGHT UP THE SUBJECT OF PARTICIPATION IN ANY UN FORCE. HE OBSERVED THAT IF

THE US AND FRG DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE WE MUST EXPECT
THAT THE SOVIETS AND EAST GERMANS WILL DEMAND TO BE
INCLUDED. WHILE THERE IS NO BASIS ON WHICH TO
'7 58*6 9;835 8;;9);3.3,5, THE GDR'S CLAIM WAS NOT
WELL FOUNDED. THIS WAS ONE OF THE POINTS WHICH WOULD
PROBABLY HAVE AN INFLUENCE ON THE FRG DECISION ON
WHETHER TO TAKE A MAJOR ROLE IN AN UN EFFORT. IN ANY
EVENT, VAN WELL SAID, THE FRG'S SUPPORT COULD NOT GO
BEYOND A CIVILIAN PRESENCE; THERE WAS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD
THE FRG COULD CONSIDER SENDING TROOPS. MOOSE ALLOWED
THAT THE US HAD SIMILAR CONCERNS AND THAT THE US WAS
THINKING PRIMARILY OF LOGISTICAL (AIRLIFT) SUPPORT.
IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR US AS WELL TO HAVE A
PRESENCE ON THE GROUND BEYOND PERSONNEL NECESSARY FOR
AIR CONTROL OPERATIONS. BREWSTER UNQUOTE VANCE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BRIEFING MATERIALS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE184257
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: BJSHARP
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780299-0392
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780735/aaaabdx.cel
Line Count: 239
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 19fe146f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1932521
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON AFRICA: NAMIBIA DEPARTMENT REPEAT TO OTHER POSTS AS APPROPRIATE
TAGS: PEPR, GE, WA, XA
To: GENEVA
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/19fe146f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014